/250 cont./
Divorce Registers

114 217 586 The divorce registers are kept by the Kali of Goa for a part of the province of Goa that comprises several adat communities. /251/ This is an administrative problem which is regulated differently according to locality. During the Japanese occupation, when it was considered unsafe to travel, the Imam of Borongloë temporarily was also authorized to register divorces.

The maintenance of these four types of personal registers was poor. Registers of a few years back were in such a deplorable state that it was no longer fruitful to consult them. Before these registers can develop into a Registrar's Office, a good many improvements will first have to be made.

Land-tax Registers

114 217 ● 651 423 In the land-tax registers each plot of land whose boundaries are very precisely indicated is to be found with the name of the person who pays the tax on it. This may be the Indonesian owner. A woman's plots are regularly recorded in the name of her husband or, if she is unmarried, in the name of her oldest brother. Younger brother's plots are frequently entered in the name of the oldest.

Registration of land is done by kampong territory. It is possible to calculate the average landownership per head and per house. It is impossible to say how many are "large landowners" -- assuming that one would want to consider someone who possesses more than five hectares as such, for instance, for by entering a part of his land in the name of his wife or children, the total ownership of one man can no longer be traced through these land registers.

The land-tax service places the taxpayer and the Indonesian owner practically on a par. Jurisprudence, however, does not simply connect with Indonesian property rights the fact that someone is entered in the land-tax registers.

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/251 cont./ The land-tax registers make a distinction between lands in Indonesian possession and lands that have been taken in pawn. In a calculation of the averages of the sawah areas, these two types of land must be added together. The land-tax registers are in excellent condition.

The Indonesian Notary

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The so-called Inland Notary, kept in the adat community office, which before the war began to assume an increasingly important task, was still not up to prewar /252/ standards in mid-1949. In 1940, 318 transactions were registered in Borongloë, in 1946 and 1947, 36 and 56 respectively.

The purpose of this institution is to further legal certainty. Parties which enter into a transaction, can report this to the head concerned, and the latter is then obligated to enter this transaction in the register, and at the same time to give to both parties a summary of what was recorded by him.

In the columns are recorded in order: name and place of residence of the purchaser; name and place of residence of the seller; a description of the article; then its boundaries are indicated if it is land, and its characteristics if it concerns a buffalo; the sum that is paid or -- in case of an exchange -- the article with a similar description; and finally, the further agreements that are made subsequent to this transfer.

The adat community head makes an entry of the transaction if the local well-informed head of the kampong where the land is situated or from which the buffalo comes tells him that he has heard no objections against the transaction. The institution was popular because the native courts of law especially attached much value to the summaries produced by purchasers or pawnees at their sessions.

The personal care and interest for this institution on the part of the local heads varies greatly, and it is upon this that the number of transactions recorded appears to be directly

114 /253 cont./ Minor Native Law Court (Hadat Ketjil) of
217 Borongloë. The registers of "major" matters handled by the
671 Native Law Court (Hadat Besar) of Goa are to be found in the provincial office in Sungguminasa. In the civil registers are listed name and place of residence of the parties; the demand and the answer; the statements by the witnesses, the decision of the judge, and a single consideration in which is stated how the judge arrived at his decision. Relatively the same applies to criminal matters. These considerations are not directly comparable to those found in the registers of government judges.

Community-Labor Register

114 The kampong head has a register with the names of the
217 men in his kampong who are subject to government corvée,
651 nowadays community labor. This, however, does not list the total number of men able to work because a few kinsmen of the head and a few kampong functionaries are exempted from such labor, and because many heads are inclined to extend the number of exemptions according to their own judgment in order to strengthen their position in the kampong. This register is poorly kept. Old registers are not preserved.

/254/ Overnight Register

114 The kampong head keeps an overnight register (buku
217 bermalan) in which the person who spends the night in a kampong
486 is recorded by his name, his place of residence, the duration of his stay, and name of his host. Its purpose during the turbulent years of 1946 and 1947 was to exercise a certain control over strangers who came into the kampong. Now that this control is no longer so important, a name is entered only now and then so that the book will not be completely blank when a checkup is made. More than 90 per cent of overnight stays were not noted, so far as I was able to observe. The register therefore is of no use in measuring a certain horizontal mobility.

/254 cont./ Registration Register

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The Registration Register is, in view of its makeup, probably designed to give a picture of the number of able-bodied men and the tax to be rendered by them in each kampong territory.

Next to the column in which the name of the man is recorded, there is one showing the number of his wives, his children, buffaloes, and horses; his profession, his age, the amount he must pay in income tax, and so forth. Unmarried and able-bodied young men have their own place in the register. The youngest of these was nineteen years old.

This register cannot serve to indicate the total number of residents because houses in which a widow lives with children are not recorded. If a young man is around nineteen years of age, he receives a place in the register, but not his mother and younger brothers and sisters. Houses without a male head of the family are therefore not included in it.

The register apparently was not kept up regularly. Some newborn children were not entered, and some deceased were not written off. I was told by the administration that the total number of those entered increased by 10 per cent after the distribution of kain was done on the basis of this register. This 10 per cent appeared to consist mainly of unmarried women and girls.

Compared to my own card system of the residents of /255/ Bontoramba, 17 men (or boys) and 104 women (or girls) were not registered, altogether 121, or around 15 percent, for a total of 803 residents. The increase of 10 per cent just mentioned had already taken place then.

The estimated age is recorded only for the men entered in the register. The observation made in the 1930 Census Report, that age estimates are unreliable was here confirmed. A man of 47 years appeared to have a son of 38. Several men would have been fathers in their twelfth year. The oldest man of the kampong was estimated at 66 years of age. In these

Makassar 066
Sadang 068

S 691 683 578 828 Then I remembered a night in Makale hearing Karaeng Djongala (whom I met again, remarkably, on a trip in Makale, and found to be not a bad fellow at all, and now speaking Dutch) and de Boer comparing notes regarding legal cases. De Boer said eighty cases a month was not at all uncommon, while the Karaeng said that in his place in Makale there were perhaps twenty, mainly knifings.

A police fellow and the Controleur said that there was much irrational knifing here too. The pattern seems to run something like this. First people become panas hati [literally, hot livered, i.e., hot tempered--Analyst], then they kill someone, and finally become all right. They consider themselves not to be criminals, but victims of unbearable emotion, and thus not really criminals.

M 212 871 556 Regarding literacy, Andi said that the percentage of literates here now is about 27 per cent, and this is used by him as a reason for not taking over democracy for a long time. This in turn might enable them to maintain control just as the Dutch did. However, they are setting up schools rapidly, and so are slitting their own throats. Maybe they are sincere, but I look for trouble. As for schools I asked a number of questions today (my last day in Bone this trip). There are village schools for the first three years. Then students may go on to a continuing school in town, in Bukaka which is not far away. Or they may enter the sekolah agama [(Islamic) religious school], in which religion and Arabic are taught. The sekolah agama is located in the village. I got the feeling that these religious schools are losing out in competition with town schools. Only the rich can afford to go beyond the second year high school level, as it is necessary to go to Makassar. I asked about the poor and they said there were no scholarships, so they were usually only able to attend the desa schools. Beyond that they might possibly go to the sekolah agama. In Watampone the breakdown is something like this. There are six years of primary schooling offered followed by four years of middle instruction. After these ten years, if a further education is desired, students must go to Makassar. There is a normal school in Watampone for desa school teachers, but for higher normal training one must go to Makassar. Thus there seems to be the same problem as in the United States. There is a need for schools in every town and at all levels because the poor cannot pay room and board in big towns away from home. This leads on to the question of the poor again (I always stress the factor of social mobility in America). The village folks said there were many poor people. They usually live with richer (though none are really rich) people in the houses of the latter and work for

M 556 465 651 735 567

food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua.

M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads.

M 651 466 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaeng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over"

M 411 443 563

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these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 6051●

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829